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H. Lucas (C.)

A T H I R D
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
F R E E C I T I Z E N S,
A N D
F R E E - H O L D E R S,
O F T H E
C I T Y o f D U B L I N.

The Fourth EDITION.



D U B L I N :
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C I T Y of *D U B L I N*.

A F T E R my *Second Address* to you, MY BRE-
THREN and FELLOW CITIZENS, I thought
I should not be interrupted in my intended Ca-
reer, but should be permitted, as I purposed, to lay
YOUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS open to your View,
and SECURE your FREEDOM by *Informing* your *Judg-*
ments.
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ments. But I must Suspend this Task, a while, to answer a more urgent and immediate Call. And, tho' I write to, and for those, who have not learned to *bend* the *knee* to BALL ; or to pay *Adoration* to a MOLTEN CALF ; who despise the *highest* Offices, conferred by *Faction*, or given as the *Wages* of *Prostitution* ; and who cannot, by any Means, be induced to *barter* their GOODLY INHERITANCE for a *Mess* of *Potage* ; yet, I must have an Eye to the *lost* Sheep of our *Fold* ; and if I cannot *reclame* them, I must, yet, endeavor to prevent others being *led astray*, by the BELL-WEATHERS of *Faction*, or *Corruption*.----When I see these *prouling Wolves*, who have already brought YOUR CITY to the *Brink* of *Destruction*, lay aside their, *late*, more than *Savage fierceness* and in *Lamb's Cloathing*, haunt your Houses and your Streets, I must set such a Mark upon them, as the meanest and weakest Brother, that is not downright *perverse*, must see thro' their shallow Disguises: When their *Emisaries*, or *Jack-calls*, like subtil *Foxes*, run, *under Cover*, thro' all the Streets and Companies in Town, to pick up every *weak* and *unguarded Bird* they meet, to *hurl* them, unawares, into the dark Den of Delusion and Destruction, it is time to *unkennel*, or *detect* them, that every *Free Citizen* may be able to *joyn* in the Cry, and *hunt Beasts of Prey*, of all Denominations, out of OUR LIBERTIES.

WOULD it were as consistent with your Interest, as it is with Humanity, to let the *Memory*, of the *unjust Dead*, lye rotting, like their *Carcasses* in their Graves ! But, such are the Degeneracy and Corruption of the Times, that *Gibets* must be raised and kept up ; as well, to warn the *unwary Traveller*, as to *afright* the *Followers* of the *Criminal*. And all Means must be used, to point out the *Rocks* and *Sands*, on which any *Vessel* may be, or ever was, in danger of being *wrecked*.

As it must be, as *unjust*, to reflect the *Vices* of the *Parents*, on the *innocent Children*, as it can be for the *undeserving* to trust, for Honor, to the Merits of their *Ancestors*, alone ; the *ripping open old Sores*, must be a grievous Task, to a Mind, actuated by any Sense of good Nature. But, as in order to restore bodily Health, every *Wound* or *Ulcer*, however *deep*, however *Secret* it lies, must be *probed* and *examined* to the *Bottom*, before an *adequate Remedy* can be applied ; so in the *Body Politic*, every Wound and Sore, of what nature soever, must be brought to *public View*, and every *incurably rotten Member*, absolutely, *cut off*, before the *CONSTITUTION* can be restored to, or preserved in Health and Harmony.---This, then, must be my ungrateful Task, since none of the many more capable will, timely, interpose in the important Undertaking.

If ANY *Galled Jade* should wince at this, who is to blame ?----They only, sure, who spurred him on, to ride again, *Jehu* like, over the *Liberties of Dublin*, and to trample the Citizens under Feet !----Who did this ?---Who could set up an *Alderman*, but the *Aldermen* ? Let them not, then, shake *their hoary Locks* at me, they cannot say *I did it*.----I must, and will preserve the *Prerogative* of a *Freeman* ; if not to *all*, I shall certainly secure it to mine own Person, in spite to all the *Enemies* of our *Constitution* ; and let my Station in Life be what it may, and the Consequences what they will, I shall never make *Peace* with the *Enemies* of *TRUTH* AND *LIBERTY*, or omit informing you of such *Incroachments*, as they make, or *threaten*, on your *Rights*, till they prove themselves, at least, *passive* Subjects, if not *true* Friends to our Government.

WE LEARN from the Records of the *House of Commons*, as well, as by the oral Tradition of several living Citizens,

THAT about the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, a Scheme was formed by the *wicked Ministry* of the *much misguided QUEEN ANNE*, to set aside the HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION to the Crown of these Realms, as limited by ACT of PARLIAMENT, and to place an *abjured Pretender* upon the Throne.

AS the CAPITAL CITY must, generally, lead an Example to all others, the first attempt was to be made on DUBLIN: She was first to be Sacrificed, that other Cities might more easily fall. And, as the *Sure*, nay, perhaps, the *only* way of *Subverting our Constitution*, the *Influencing and corrupting Elections* was attempted *universally*, but more particularly, more forcibly in *Dublin*.

THESE *Perfidious slaves* exercised all their *sinister Influence* and *most artful Corruptions* in the *Elections* of Members of Parliament, in Vain; but in the *Elections* of the *Magistrates of Dublin*, *Bribery* and every kind of *Corruption*; *Perjury*, *Fraud* and *open Force and Violence* were, at first, under a *Masque*, but afterwards, publicly employed.

AFTER having tried, in vain, to corrupt ALDERMAN RALPH GORE, the then, Lord Mayor, with a large Bribe, to *pack but thirty two Men*, named to him, by the *Government*, into the *Commons*, to prepare the Way for their *intended Treason*; they judged it necessary, to let *some* of the *Aldermen* into their *infernal Secret*, in order to make them the *Tools* of their dark *Designs*. ---To get *One* of the *Board* chosen, *Lord Mayor*, against the time, the *Election* of the *Commons* was to come on, who

who would *implicitly* and *passively* obey the *Dictates* of the then LORDS JUSTICES, PRIVY-COUNCIL and JUDGES, for no less were the *Conspirators*, in those Days, against your *Constitution*; was, then, the Scheme of Government.

I MUST, tho' it is with Regret, I am constrained to it; name the *Aldermen*, culled out for this Iniquity. They were *Cooke*, *Mason*, *French*, and *Constantine*; of which, the later, being a *Foreigner*, was to be chosen *Lord Mayor*, as the likeliest to Execute *anticonstitutional* Schemes.

THE first, *Alderman Samuel Cooke*, was LORD MAYOR, by *Law*, from *Michaelmas*, one thousand seven hundred and twelve, to *Michaelmas*, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen; and, by *illegal Force*, from that to the *Queen's* Death. This Gentleman was, in the Year one thousand seven hundred and Eleven, Elected to serve the Mayoralty, but his *Merit* being not then known, or approved, by their *Excellencies*, and their *Honors of the Council and Bench*, he was Set aside. But, for Reasons best known to these Powers, he was now approved, and honored, like other *Modern Heroes*, with---*Knight-hood*.

THE Documents he received, must have been, to perform what he afterwards effected, and was Supported in, by the *Ministry*; to get some of the *Aldermen*, approved by these Rulers, chosen to succeed him in Office; and, in Case the *Aldermen*, who were not in the Secret, should not come into these Measures, to bold over, and to execute the Office of *Lord Mayor*, without any legal Election, or Appointment, without Swearing into Office, or putting on the least form, or Color of Law.

THESE Instructions were steadily and resolutely pursued, by the Knight. To cover the Design the Better, several

several of the *Aldermen*, not trusted with the Secret, were nominated, by Sir Samuel, put in Election; and Chosen by the Board, Lord Mayors, at several times; but, as often rejected, or disapproved, by the *Lords Justices, Privy-Council and Judges*. His Nominations being, in these Instances, agreeable to the Board, and, consequently, not disputed, he made this an handle to demand and insist upon it, as a right, inherent to his Office, to Name the three Persons to be in Election, out of which the *Aldermen must Chuse*. He named *Constantine, Mason, and French*, and would suffer none other to be put in Election. And when the *Aldermen refused to chuse* one of these, he dissolved their Assemblies, from time to time; till not only all Election Days, but the Swearing Day elapsed, and then, he officiated himself, but without *Sheriffs*, as if he had been, legally and regularly appointed. And in this, he was Supported, by his Excellency Sir *Constantine Phips*, Knight, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, and his corrupt Creatures and Confederates, the *Privy-Council and the Judges*, till the *Queen's Death*. During which time, the City was in inexpressible Confusion and Disorder; the City Courts were shut up; their Quarter Sessions and public Assemblies discontinued; the Goals crowded with Criminals; in short, the civil Power was, for the most part, suspended; by Reason, no Grand Juries could be returned, nor Writs executed in the County of the City. And all this, at a Time, when Soldiers were publicly insisted for the Pretender, throughout the City and Kingdom; not only with Impunity, but without Molestation, from the Magistrates.

BUT, as soon as LIBERTY regained her Throne, upon the *Queen's Death*, their Excellencies were dismissed; their most honorable *Privy-Council*, dissolved; their wise and upright Judges, cashiered, and stigmatised by the Votes of the House of Commons; and their noble Instrument,

ment, that *worthy Knight*, and *Alderman*, was *expelled* the Borrd of *Aldermen*, and *Disfranchised*, by ACT of ASSEMBLY, as well, as censured, by the COMMONS, who would have impeached *him* and *them*, had not the necessary Evidence been artfully suppressed.

FOR a further Account of these wicked Men and those horrible Times, consult the *Votes* of the *House of Commons*, and the report of a Committee of the Commons, made in the Year 1716, and the Assembly-Rolls of the Year 1714.

BY OUR LAWS, if any Person be guilty of *High Treason*, or *Rebellion*, his Children, however innocent they may be of the Father's Crimes, are, yet, stripped of the Powers, he had to annoy the Constitution; their Estate is forfeited.---Is it political, or prudent to trust such with any Power?---Consider the weight of this and apply it.--So shall we, not again, have room to fear, the raising more *religious Rioters*, more LAURELED SLAVES, in *Crape*, or *Ermin*, to infest our City!

HOWEVER, I hope no Man will suspect, that I touch upon this, ungrateful Subject, with intent, to injure any honest Person, now living.---I declare myself far from further Intention, than to excite this Caution in the Minds of all Free Men; that, tho' they should not *punish*, or *reflect* on, any Man, for the *Vices* of his *Forefathers*, more, than they would *reward* him, for their *Virtues*, only; yet, that they should not chuse any Man into an Office of high Trust, while there lay a bare *Presumption* of his *adopting*, *imbibing* or being *tainted* with the *evil Principles* of his *Father*, till he had given *convincing Proofs* of the *contrary*.---This is one of the established Principles of our Policy, which should be invariable.

If,

It, then, the Board of Aldermen, or the prevailing Faction among them, takes upon them, after having persistently trampled on all the Rights and Liberties of the Citizens, for many Years passed; to set up a Candidate, for the Place of a Citizen, to represent you in Parliament, on their Success in which, alone, depends the supporting their abominable Incroachments and Usurpations; and trusting to their sinister Influence and ill-gotten Authority, presume to prescribe, to you, one of their Corps, and of this Leaven, as a Representative, I may say, to impose such an one, upon you; he must be blind to, or regardless of, your Honor and Interest, that can over-look it, or let it pass in Silence.---Rouse; then, MY BRETHREN, the Spirit of Liberty, which is the SPIRIT of GOD within you, by which you live, and move, and have your Being.---Give a glorious Example of your Freedom, and disinterested Love for your Country, to all neighbouring Cities and Counties; and, at once, establish such a lasting Monument of your Sense of LIBERTY and PATRIOTISM, in letting the World see, that, in Spight to foreign and domestic Tyrants, you dare be FREE, and return a FREE CITIZEN to represent you in Parliament, upon the true constitutional Principles; that no Slave, or Tyrant, however dignified, shall ever, hereafter, presume to assail you, or in any Sense, invade your Freedom, especially, in that most tender Part, the ELECTION of your Representatives in PARLIAMENT.

LET me, now, beseech you, to correct the usual unjust Manner of judging of Men, for the Offices in your disposal. Let not the sluggish and inactive Drone, of whom it can, at best, be said, he did, or does no harm, in this or the other Station, be looked upon as a good Man.----There are no negative Virtues.---In this Sense, Statues may be called good Men. He alone, can be, truly, call'd a good Man, whose Virtues shine forth in Action; who does all possible Good in private and public Life.

IF you would be *freely and fairly served*, you must *freely and fairly* ELECT, or *chuse*, a *free and able* Representative.---The *Creature of Faction* cannot be FREE. You must, therefore, assuredly avoid him; and the more if you see the *old dormant Spirit* of Sir CON revive, and the *Creatures, Tools or Abettors* of his Administration, or their *non reformed Descendants*, again herd together and publicly join with your *open Enslavers*, to set him up and support him.

SUCH of these, as you do not know by their *Faces*, you may learn by their Works: They do not move you, by any Pretence to real Merit, in their Candidate: No; they are for teaching you *implicit Faith, passive Obedience and Non-resistance*. If you do not vote, as you are bid, you are never to dine with a *Lord Mayor*, or any *Aldermen*, never be made a *Sheriff*, or a *Common Council Man*, nor be employed by any of the *Party*!

BEWARE, in time, MY FRIENDS; mistake not *partly converted Tories* for WHIGS. I know it is said, *such a Man is, undoubtedly well affected to the present happy Establishment*.---This can signify no more, than, that he has *changed sides*; and that, probably, more from *Interest*, than *Principle*. He that would contend for *Arbitrary, absolute Power, and hereditary Tyranny*, for *one Prince*, would from the like Motive, as soon, as brought over, do so for another. Tyranny must be equally hateful, and guarded against, from all Quarters. And if there be any Body among us, who could advise, or countenance, the extending the Power of the Crown, tho' placed upon the illustrious Head of his PRESENT MAJESTY, beyond the *Bounds circumscribed by Law*, or the giving his *Ministers unlimited Power, or Credit*, he is but a *cloaked Villain, a base Enemy to his King and Country*; and, as such, to be detested, and abhorred, as much,

as any of those, who countenanced these like Measures, in any former Reigns. Nay, if ever you should see a *Ministry, cherishing Men of this Mold, or promoting the Descendants of such, to Places of Honor, or Trust in the State, be sure, all is not right.*----There *something rotten* in the State!---A SNAKE lies hid in the Grass!

I, now, beg your Indulgence, a while, for my self. By this, I hope you all know my Motives and the Principles, on which I act and declare myself. Try me and prove me; and if I am found to procede, in any Instance, inconsistent with them, let me be rejected and despised by all *Freemen*; the most dreadful worldly Punishment to a *free Soul*!

Two things I find artfully insinuated, to my Prejudice, of which I beg leave to acquit my self. The one is, *that, tho' I opposed the Board of Aldermen, formerly, I have, lately, solicited them, for a profitable Lease, which I obtained, in order to Silence my Opposition to the Board.*

How inconsistent this Charge is, must appear, upon considering, that tho' I never approved the Powers vested in the *Board of Aldermen*, by the *New-Rules*, yet I never was so Mad, as to oppose those Powers, which that Law gave them, and which makes them the *sole Electors* of the *Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Treasurer*, as well, as a *part of the Common-Council*. And tho' I do not look upon *any one* at the *Board*, as a *lawful or right-ful Alderman*, yet they must be all deemed *Aldermen in fact*, and their *lawful Acts*, in that Station, must be valid, till the Law Divests them of the Office.---I got a Lease of Customs, long lost to the City, which no Body else would take, and which I am determined to Prosecute; not less for the City's sake, than mine own. But, my Memorial was addressed to *The Right Honorable*

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THE LORD MAYOR, SHERIFS, COMMONS AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, only; and my Lease is granted by them, alone. For the Truth of this, let whoever will, View my *Memorial* and *Lease*, in the Tholliel Office, or at my House.

THE OTHER is, if possible, more Groundless and more inconsistent with Truth and Reason.---It is said, that I *act underhand*, and *set up as a Candidate*, only to secure an Interest for a more worthy Candidate; one whose long experience in the Service of the City, intitules him to the popular Interest, and that I am to give up my Interest to him, at the Election.

HOWEVER insolent and evil, the Design of this Infination may be, it only moves me to look with Pity, upon such mean Creatures, as are obliged to have recourse to every base, low Subterfuge and Artifice, to keep up any Degree of pure, popular Interest, or Credit.---I hope I have given no Man room to suspect me of *underhand Dealing*: On this, I shall venture to rest the first Part of the Charge. As for securing an Interest for another, how can that appear?---For, when no Man solicits an Interest, in the Manner, or on the Principles, that I do, how can any Interest, I obtain for myself, fit another?---Who sees me like an *Excise Officer*, or *Poll-Tax Collector*, prying into every House for Votes? or, like a *recruiting Serjeant*, attempting to *Inlist FREE CITIZENS*, like *Mercenaries*, and to record their Names, in a *Muste-Roll*?---I ask no Promises; and if I had obtained any, I know such Promises can, in their own nature, be, at best, but *conditional*; and, consequently can, in no *Sense*, be *transferable*.---That the several Candidates have been longer in the *Councils* of the City, than I, must certainly be confessed; but that I have been longer in the *Service* of the City, than any of them, must I believe be given up; since none of them ever *saw*, or *heard* of a *CHARTER*, or *RECORD* of the City, till I brought them

to

to light ; nor ever gave *public* Opposition, to the *Usurpations* and *Tyranny* of the *Aldermen*, till I did. As for *giving up*, as they call it, *my Interest*, to *another*, I hope it now appears, evidently, absurd and preposterous ; and, as a farther Security, I, thus, solemnly promise and declare, that, if I live, I will stand the *Poll*, and vindicate the Rights of every *Free Elector*, that Votes for me, to the utmost of my Power, tho' there should be but ten, For, as I shall take no bad, or unlawful, Votes, so I shall fear no *Scrutiny*, before any *Tribunal*. This I am the better emboldened to do, because I procede on CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES. Moreover, if I gain the *Election*, I shall gain it, with *immortal Honor*, to my *Constituents*, as well, as to *myself* ; and if I lose it, I lose it with more *Honor*, than he, that goes upon contrary Principles, can possibly gain it. And I have this further Satisfaction, that if I am but instrumental to making the smallest Number of Citizens *Free*, I shall think it infinitely more than a Recompence for any Trouble I can take.

LET me ask such *Zealous Patriots*, as industriously and indefatigably, by all the Ways and Means, right or wrong, that can be devised, labor to get into Parliament ; why they submit to such Drudgery, and have Recourse to such insidious Artifices, as they must, in their Hearts, condemn, as inconsistent with Justice and Liberty ; to procure Votes ?---Can a Seat in Parliament, illicitly, or clandestinely obtained, bring Honor to any Man ?---Or can a worthy Member be distinguished by aught, from the Multitude, more than *superior Toils* ?---Consider this well, as you tender your LIBERTY, and all that you hold dear. Be assured, that he, who attempts to *enslave* or *corrupt* you, is himself a *Slave*, or *corrupted*.

BEFORE I conclude, let me warn you against *Force*, *Restraint*, or *unjust Influence*, from *Men in Power*. These
you

you may not only expose, but punish, If any great MAN can be so base, as to have recourse to these Measures, give me but Information, and by putting the Laws in Force against him, I will make him feel the Exemplary Punishment the Law inflicts upon such *perjured Parricides*, as attempt to sap the *Foundation* on which they stand.

B E F R E E, and assure yourselves, you shall ever find a zealous Asserter of your Liberties, an invariable Friend, and a most faithful Servant, in

Your most affectionate Brother

And Fellow-Citizen,

C. Lucas.

DUBLIN, Sept.
5th. 1748.

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